

PASTORAL LETTER OF
THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP JOSEPH KIWANUKA, D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF LUBAGA (UGANDA)

CHURCH AND STATE

Guiding Principles

November 1961

Beloved Children in Christ

Having heard that I was called to attend a conference in America and that I shall be away for a certain time, many of you have asked me to leave you some guiding principles which you could follow during the critical period of my absence, that is during the time of changes in Government. Read this letter carefully: it will guide you in many ways.

A few facts

Since the middle of September, I have heard grave complaints from many of you. Some came to show me wounds inflicted by their neighbours who had beaten them. Your appeals to me always contained the fact that major reproach addressed to you was “You are a Catholic! You are a traitor to the Kabaka and to your country.” I ask you, “Why do they make such preposterous accusations against you: have they got any ground for it?” The answer is always the same: “It appears that among the Catholics there were some who registered for voting (for the last elections), and there were also some who joined the Democratic Party.” To this, I reply: There are also Catholics who registered as members of the Uganda People’s Congress and of the Uganda National Congress; however none of them are molested.

My conclusion in such cases is that there must be other grounds for such attacks. I advised many to go to those in authority: if what they say is true, I added, the Authorities will certainly give them justice. But their answer is that they came to me because they have found that the Authorities to whom I would send them, many, who held responsible posts, were themselves behind the attacks.

I was still hearing of such cases when the Katikkiro sent a telegram from England which stated, “among those attending the London Conference, there some people who do not want Buganda to receive what belongs to her (*kufuna byayo*). This disturbed the country more still and many said, “Let them be cursed”, although we were not told what it was that “belonged to Buganda” and what it was that they did not wish to give back to the country.

I was still considering this when I was told of a new accusation: “It must be the Catholics who object to the return to Buganda of what belongs to her.” This was now being said everywhere, on the roads as well as in places where people were gathered together.

However, I still did not worry much about reports of such accusations, and I still believed that they were rumours or mere exaggerations.

Shortly after that, I was personally the object of such an accusation. I was jeered at and followed by a mock escort who shouted to me: “What are you looking for here, near the Kabaka’s palace? You people don’t like the Kabaka, and it is you who do not want us to receive what belongs to us.”

I did not pay much attention to these insults but they led me to make further investigations. And more recently, after His Highness the Kabaka’s return, we went to welcome him. As our car entered the road known as ‘*Kabakanjagala*’, and as we went to the Bulange, again people shouted at us: “What are you Bishops looking for here? You don’t like the Kabaka! Wait until tomorrow and go to welcome Benedict.” Then I could hesitate no longer and I knew that the appeals and the complaints of my people were founded.

When we came back to the Bulange the other day, many shouted at us saying: “Even the Kabaka confirmed it. You are the people who do not want Buganda to receive what belongs to her.”

And, as we entered our car, a man came forward from the crowd and danced in front of us shouting: “From now on, your religion will find nowhere to stand.” At once, others, better mannered, chased him away. Nevertheless, we went away rather worried and shaken. What we saw and heard on that occasion shows clearly that real hardships are in store for you as Catholics in this delicate period of changes in Government.

I cannot remain silent

I have no wish to frighten you. However, since I am your leader, given to you by God to guide you and to strengthen you in righteousness, I consider that I would be neglecting my duty if I remained silent, fore-seeing, as I do, the danger in which some of you stand of losing courage and even your faith. Some may well lose courage because of the contempt of their faith with which they are treated and by the suffering wilfully inflicted upon them simply because they are Catholics.

Others among you may fear to admit that they are Catholics, hoping in this way to obtain a place in government. There may also be a number who would conceal their faith in order to avoid being recognised as Catholics. It is true that you cannot avoid being attacked as Catholics, even though you have no guilt whatsoever towards your nation. Understand, however, that this hatred has been predicted to us by Our Lord Jesus Christ when He said: “You will be hated by all people because you bear my name! If they have cried Beelzebub at the master of the house, they will do it much more readily to the people of his household!” (Mt. 10: 22.25). However, it is consoling to hear Our Lord reminding us that we should not fall into the same fault committed by those who are ill-disposed towards us: “You have heard that it was said: ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour and shall hate thy enemy’. But I say to you: Pray for those who persecute you and who calumniate you.” (Mt. 5: 43-45)

However, remember also that religion does not prevent one to defend oneself against one’s assailants; nor, does it forbid one to fight to protect oneself or one’s property. But if ever you have to do that, never act through contempt or hatred, or through a spirit of revenge; just defend yourself, or simply prevent the action of evil-doer who wish to harass you.

The deeper source of trouble

What contributed most to bring trouble to the Catholics, is the fact that in the present political evolution there are Catholic citizens who have decided to contend for places of leadership in

government and they have found the support of other Catholics. This has induced others to attack them.

Now you may ask me: “What fault have they done to justify such attacks? Is it a sin to contest a place of leadership in Government? My answer is: “No, it is not wrong.” Nevertheless it cannot be denied that this is what hurts many. This is what brings them to speak harshly in buses, in bars, in the press or elsewhere. This is which incites people to molest others, to slash their crops and to do other similar acts of aggression.

Aim of this letter: Guidance

I believe that some are irritated and do wrong to others because they do not understand the changes that are taking place in the government, and neither do they understand the relation between Church and State. In fact Church and State should have good relations with one another and work together for the common good. In this Pastoral letter I wish to state the following two points: a) That the forms of government may change. b) Church and State can work together.

a) The Forms of Government may change

The three forms of government found in the world up to this day were described long ago by a Greek philosopher, Aristotle.

- i. The first form is the Absolute Monarchy. In that form of government the power to make laws obliging the whole country (legislative) and the power to judge trials and punish (judiciary), are all vested in the king.
- ii. The second form is that of Aristocracy (Bakungu) sharing in government. Then the power of ruling is in the hands of such chiefs.
- iii. The third form is that in which all citizen take part, and the government is that of the people (democracy). The people themselves elect their representatives.

However, in certain countries these three forms have been joined together so that the government is formed of a king with the chiefs, and the representatives elected by the citizens. England has such a government.

In Buganda

For a very long time, the form of government in Buganda was of the first type, an absolute monarch, but with wide powers left to the aristocracy (*Abakungu*)

The absolute power of the kings (*bakabaka*) in all fields was never questioned until the Europeans made a repartition of powers. When Buganda came under the protection of the British Government, the absolute power of the Kabaka came to an end, but he remained one of the governing body.

Monarchy separated from politics

By virtue of the 1955 Agreement which was signed by the Kabaka himself, His Highness withdrew from politics and a form of government was set up known as “Constitutional Monarchy”, which

means that the Kabaka does not enter personally into politics, but leaves that responsibility to the ministers and the parliament (*Lukiiko*). However, the Kabaka retained the power to approve and confirm what is decided by parliament.

Since 1955, we have been given that form of government called 'democracy'. It was introduced for the first time in the government of Buganda when Buganda began to be governed by elected, members of parliament. However, elections were not on a common franchise; only a limited number of voters took part in them. Moreover, the elections were not on a 'party' basis since Buganda had not yet accepted political parties.

First elections on a party basis

In the parliament of Uganda formerly called 'Legislative Council' (Legico), however, it was accepted that the members would be elected by those who agreed to register and to vote, and this on political party basis.

On that occasion, all those who wanted to use their right registered and they voted for the party they supported; even in Buganda there were some who used that right.

Difficulties begin in Buganda

A number of Baganda disagreed with this registering and voting. Many who wished to register and vote were threatened and fear prevented them from exercising their right, but there were also many courageous people who did exercise their right.

Although among the many who registered and voted there were people from many parties, the only ones I have heard blamed in the press and elsewhere were the members of the Democratic Party. And, although there were people of all religions who registered the only ones to be hunted for it were the Catholics: nobody can deny this. I have already given the reason why only the Catholics and only DP members are blamed. It is the fear that some Catholics might emerge and become candidates for the government posts; those who had up to now controlled the government fear that their monopoly might soon decline and they might even be withdrawn altogether.

London Conference increased the changes

The London Conference brought further changes in government and the Buganda Parliament now embraces the three forms of government I enumerated above.

- i. First, the Monarchy which is strengthened in the new Agreement, but with the Kabaka still remaining outside politics as a Constitutional Monarch.
- ii. Secondly, the part played by the Aristocracy (Bakungu) remains unchanged. The Saza Chiefs and the six Bakungu (nominees) appointed by the Kabaka still remain members of the Buganda Parliament.
- iii. Thirdly, the people themselves having a voice in government by electing their representatives, and six ministers to be chosen by whoever will be elected as leader of the government (Katikkiro).

Buganda still in doubt

Buganda accepts to choose its government by a general election. However, I am not yet clear about whether or not the candidates will be elected on a party basis. All other parts of Uganda have agreed long ago to choose their councils through a general election as well as to have those elections on a party basis.

The central government which rules over all Uganda follows the third form of government, democracy. Most of the members of that government will be chosen in a general election.

All parts of Uganda except the Kingdom of Buganda have already decided that every single person qualified to vote may elect the candidate of his or her choice; that is free election. Buganda is still doubtful as to whether its people are also ready to elect their representatives in the central government; it leaves it to those who will be elected to the Buganda Lukiiko to decide whether Buganda has reached the state where it can elect its own representatives in the central government, the National Assembly.

This enough to show that changes can take place in government and many did take place even in the Buganda Government. Changes have occurred in all parts of Uganda and more are bound to come.

I believe that if everybody could understand these changes in government, there would be an end of the charges made against others because they joined political parties or because they registered for voting.

Democracy does not destroy kingship

If people understood that democracy does not destroy kingship, they would not be angry with others who follow democracy and say about them that: "They don't like the Kabaka." Moreover, if they understood that the three forms of government I have mentioned above are in fact accepted in Buganda, they would not bring up the slogan "*Kabaka Yekka.*" (The King only), because in Buganda, there is not only the monarchy involved, but also the aristocracy and even democracy.

II. STATE AND CHURCH

Let us turn to the second part of this letter in which I shall speak of the relations between the forms of government explained above and the Church.

Time and again, I have heard such things as "keep religion out of politics, leave religious ideas out of politics and take religion out of schools." Among those who speak like that some do it out of pure hatred of religion. It could not be explained otherwise since in fact religion strives to remind people of their duty to serve God, which in no way harms politics on the contrary it is a real help to it. But there are others who are induced to say that they don't want religion to be mixed with politics by the mere fact that they are afraid of the truth and justice inherent in religion. They would like to deceive people in order to bring them to their side, but religion helps people at the time of choosing a government to see objectively what is right and to choose a good government.

There are finally many people who repeat “keep religion out of politics” without any understanding whatsoever of what it is all about.

What the Church can and must do

I wish here to clarify for you this question of what the Church can and must do in relation with politics and what is outside of her domain. Also you must understand what the State can and must do in relation to the Church. God Almighty has appointed the charge of the human race to two powers: the Church and the State. These two powers are distinct, each in its kind is supreme. In other words neither the Church nor the State interferes with each other, each has what it needs to attain its end.

Each one is a domain of its own whose limits are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each. (Pope Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*)

What are the powers of the Church and those of the State

Whatever is consecrated to God, all matters concerning souls, religious and moral matters, are governed by the Church who judges them. On the other hand, whatever concerns the government of people in temporal matters belongs to the realm of the State (*Immortale Dei*).

What the State must do for the Church

The State must recognise that it is also bound by the laws of God. Civil rulers have a duty to remember that God has the authority above them, that He rules over everybody on earth and in heaven. They must relate all their activities to Him and in the exercise of their government duties, God is the Rule which they have the obligation to follow. (*Immortale Dei*)

Therefore, if a ruler, even when engaged in State duties, neglected to concern himself with religion, he would be openly violating God’s law and would thus refuse to achieve the end for which God created him as well as that for which He created the country that the ruler is governing.

This applies to all rulers indiscriminately

As I said above, religion and state are distinct powers, the difference lies in the power itself and not in the person in whom it is vested. All people, the ruler as well as those he/she governs, have the obligation to abide by the sound principles given by the Church, the ruler being the head since he has to lead the others; as our own proverb goes: “The road is opened by the elder.”

Therefore, if civil authorities behave as if God is not their Ruler, they incur the very serious guilt of being a scandal to their country and such people do not deserve to be elected as rulers. This is not all, a ruler who is concerned with religion only at home and in the church where he / she is seen worshipping but who, when he/she is engaged in his political activities tries to give the impression that he/she does not worship God, is in grave error.

It would be a great shame in a country like Buganda, if we put at the head of the government who do not understand that Buganda or Uganda cannot keep going properly, even politically, if they are not strongly grounded in religion. In fact it is religion that strengthens good morals among people. Then where would be the rulers who give no thought to it? How then will they keep peace

in the country if the citizens are disobedient, unjust and untrustworthy, having no respect for their rulers and other such habits.

For that reason, rulers who really concern themselves with religion, those who set an example to their neighbour by their practice of religion, are those who would really be useful to the country: they are the ones who deserve to be elected.

Therefore, all those who suggest throwing all religion out of politics, those who strive to withdraw denominational schools and to change into state schools, those who say they do not care about religion, are dangerous to our country, Buganda and Uganda, because they want to take away from us an indispensable element of good government: that is religion.

Let Church and State help one another in harmony

God himself made and established these two authorities and commands all people to obey both powers. Doing this God did not intend to embarrass His creatures by commanding obedience to two rulers. It is true that both authorities, church (religion) and state, govern the same people, but they can do this in harmony: indeed it is their duty to do so. On this point, Pope Leo XIII writes: "Each of these two powers has authority over the same subjects, and as it might come to pass that one and the same thing might belong to the jurisdiction of both, therefore God, who foresees all things, and is the Author of these two powers, has marked out the course of each in right connection with the others." If each authority follows the order set up by God, there is no trouble whatsoever.

But what is this order?

The teaching of the Church to her people has always been: "In all temporal matters in which no religious principle is involved, the State is supreme." The Church does not merely say this but goes further and defends the State and promotes its rights.

See what the Pope says to his brother Bishops: "Lord Bishops, instruct your people very often on the duty to keep away from forbidden societies and to mix with rebels who plot against the State and breed sedition. Instruct your people to obey their legitimate rulers in what is right, are achieving something excellent." (*Diuturnum illud*, Leo XIII).

It is clear that the Church recognizes the authority of the State and its rights, and she does not interfere with them, indeed more she helps the State in its duties. The same duty applies to the State: it has the duty to recognise that religious and moral matters, the Church is also supreme and independent in the government of her own affairs. The Holy Father explains in this way: "The Church is a society responsible exclusively to God who established her and gave her the authority in all that she needs to attain her end. Her Founder has placed in her whatsoever is needed to stand firm and to fulfil her duties. The jurisdiction of the Church over man is much higher in dignity than that of the State, since the Church works in the supernatural order for the eternal welfare of souls. The state works in the natural order for the temporal welfare of its citizens. Therefore, the authority of the Church is far above that of the State. The authority of the church must have precedence over that the State; no one can say, that the Church can be subject to the State in the fulfilment of her duties. Jesu Christ gave his Church all the authority she needs, absolutely all, in religious and moral matters, to make laws, to exercise her juridical power and the authority to punish." (*Immortale Dei*, 5)

In mixed matters

In “mixed matters”, where both State and Church have jurisdiction, the Church is the higher authority; such is the case, for example, in questions concerning marriage and education. Then, the State’s decision must be subordinated to the decision of the Church, since the State works in the temporal order and the Church in the supernatural order. Temporal matters must be subordinated to spiritual matters. When there is need to defend spiritual matters and Christian morals among people, the Church has the obligation to stand firm. Pope Leo XIII writes: “God entrusted to the Church the duty to exert herself firmly if the State tries in any way to do harm to religion; the Church has been given the duty to strive to improve the impact of religion in all laws and commands ruling people” (*Sapientia Christiane*, 16).

Duty of State

The State should also exert herself:

- a) To defend and protect the rights of individuals and of society, even the smaller communities.
- b) The State should do its best to make the country to progress in temporal matters and to establish order and peace, and good morals.
- c) The State must also leave the Church free to fulfil her duties and even defend her against her enemies.

When you have meditated upon all these points, you will find that they clarify the situation and should be enough to bring to an end the difficulties you have had to face, difficulties sometimes brought by your own fellow Catholics. I do not think that a Catholic could still remain blind and accept as before to be deceived. For your friends who are not of the same Faith as you are, you will help them to know the truth so that they also will avoid being deceived as in the past.

III. POLITICAL PARTIES

Before I conclude this letter, I wish to give you some guidance on the coming elections which are causing you anxiety. Most present day governments are based on democracy, and therefore work on the political party system. There are two reasons which make democracy popular everywhere:

- a) Firstly, because it gives an opportunity to every citizen who wishes to do so to choose his / her own representatives, who will be the bearers of his / her ideas in discussions on the duties to be carried out by the citizens, and on burdens which will be imposed on the citizens for the good of the country.
- b) Secondly, all citizens take part in a democratic government, and they are not reduced to find themselves unexpectedly burdened with impossible laws.

This sharing of government is done through representatives whom they choose for themselves. In such a government, there is an opposition party as well as the ruling party which won the elections. If that opposition party understands its role properly, it will not fight, just for the sake of fighting against every single issue proposed by the ruling party, but will be there to watch over the welfare

of the nation so that it will not be oppressed nor despoiled by the present government. Therefore, a political party should not merely be occupied in biting at or eating other parties up, but should strive for the progress of the country and its welfare.

Buganda and the political parties

Up to now, Buganda had not yet accepted political parties, but it seems to have realised that it cannot set itself apart from the rest of the world. Therefore, the Buganda Government cannot avoid being based on political parties. For you, Catholics, listen to what the Church says about political parties: “The governments of our times are directed by various political parties, and here is the warning of the Church to her children on that point: they must never allow themselves to do anything that in their conscience they see or feel is forbidden by their religion; nor must they give up right practices commanded by the Church, merely because the political party to which they belong rejects them. Catholics must never support what is forbidden by religion, even if a party to which they belong supports it.” (Pius XII, 1st July 1949). Here, we may give an example from this country, such as parties whose aim is to debar religion from the government of the country, or to rob schools of their religion, or to prevent religion being taught or practiced in schools.

Criteria for the choice of a party

On what criteria shall a Catholic base his decision to choose one party or another and to be inscribed as a member? Ask yourselves the questions I have put down here and they will help you to see for yourselves what party you will join.

1. What is the attitude of the party towards religion?

Is the party as such founded on anti-religious and anti-Christian principles?

This you will find in the Manifesto of the party. Each political party has its Manifesto, that is, a written statement which explains the aims of the party; both the Uganda People’s Congress (U. P. C.) and the Democratic Party (D.P.) have such a Manifesto.

In Buganda as in Uganda, the only parties of which I have the Manifestos are the U.P.C. and the D.P., but I hear that the Uganda National Congress (U.N.C.) and the Progressive Party (P.P.) have also a Manifesto and that they are properly registered like the U.P.C. and the D.P.

Parties which have never produced a Manifesto, and which are not recognised by the government cannot be considered as parties which you would become members.

“*Kabaka Yekka*” (Kabaka alone), “*Mwoyo gw’Eggwanga*” (Heart of the Nation) are among those which have not yet produced their Manifesto and are not yet registered as parties.

2. A second *criterium* which will help you to recognise an unsuitable party is this. Take a party which has already produced a Manifesto and has been registered as well, you may see that it has shown signs or has made statements which are dangerous because they mislead people about Christian practices or in questions of faith and morals; ask yourself then: “In how far is it harmful to Christian life, to Christian belief and to Christian morals?”

A party which says it will debar religion from government, or rob the Church of her schools, or throw religion out of schools, such a party shows itself to be dangerous to Christian life.

Parties which practice paganism

There are people who have undertaken to go round saying that it is the duty of all to join this or that party. In itself there is nothing wrong with this, and it has to be done as long as it does not add the idea of doing wrong to others. On the other hand, those who want to make propaganda for a party, but who show by other public activities that they are prepared to be rid of religion altogether, who are seen sacrificing animals on the roads and making other pagan offerings, or even who compose so-called prayers for the Kabaka in which, in fact they invoke all the ‘*Balubaale*’ (genii) of the pagans of old, such a party appears clearly to any Catholic as one about which there can be no doubt whatsoever: he is forbidden to join such a party. However I am deeply surprised to see that there are Catholics who still call themselves Catholics, and still joining such parties which bring back paganism, and they not only commit themselves entirely to such parties but also go round inciting others to join them.

The same applies to a party which is seen inciting people to do wrong to others: a Catholic is not allowed to join such a party, because a Catholic, as a Christian, is always taught that he must love his neighbour and he must fear and avoid doing wrong to others he sees perfectly well that he cannot join such parties.

Registration and Elections for the Lukiiko

In Buganda the word “kwewandisa” (to register for voting) has been used in the most preposterous ways. It has even led people to abandon their religion because they did not understand the meaning!

Some told their friends: “If you register it means you do not love the Kabaka. What? You want to destroy our kingdom and overturn the throne, and deprive us our traditional things? It is religion that makes you so stupid!” And many other things!

Then some of those who did not register mobbed others who did, and composed a so called prayer for the nation and the king, and turned to the pagan spirits (*balubaale*).

It is deceitful to attach that meaning to registration

It is wrong to accuse one who registers of not loving the Kabaka. Only those who want to deceive give that meaning to registration.

The registration in question is that which took place on the occasion of the elections to the Legislative Council. It was proclaimed by the Colonial Secretary and the Governor, and it was to be done in all Uganda both for the candidates who stood for election and for those who were elected, the key to their election was registration. It was never declared, not even once, that they would interfere with the *Mengo Lukiiko* (Buganda local parliament), but they were registering for the other government, the one which is for the whole of Uganda.

Nobody can pretend that the Colonial Secretary or the Governor had no authority at that time to proclaim the registration of voters in Buganda. They still have this authority even today and in fact we still accept a great number of regulations made by them.

It was not in the power of the Lukiiko of Buganda to forbid the Baganda to do it, and to forbid them to elect their representatives to the Legislative Council.

The registration for voting to elect representatives in the Lukiiko of Buganda is definitely under the authority of the Lukiiko of Buganda, and if they decided against registration, to disobey the Lukiiko would be an act of revolt.

Now, you have heard that the Kabaka has proclaimed from the throne that the Lukiiko of Mengo would be chosen by a general election and that those who want to vote must first register: this has to be complied with when the time comes. Now, do those who gave way to anger and condemned the others for registering still say that those who registered have incurred any guilt? You will even see that those who condemned registration have now understood the importance of registration and that all of them will go out of their way to register for voting.

Those of you who registered, understand that your friends who did not do so were most of them the victims of deceit and lies. Keep good relations with them and encourage them to register without continually harping about their past mistake or mocking them.

I have explained this about registration because many of you asked me for guidance on this point since they wanted to know whether by registering they had committed a fault against the nation for which their conscience should be worried.

Lukiiko Elections

As I told you before the form of government most commonly accepted in the whole world is government by elected rulers, because this form gives to the citizens opportunity to elect suitable representatives and avoid being burdened with despotic rulers.

Another good thing that comes out of it is that people from all walks of life – peasants, workers, traders and others – have somebody to speak for them in Government.

Now when the time of elections comes you will see many who will stand as candidates. They will speak much and will promise you much. They will have supporters to speak for them and sing their praise. There might be some who will bribe you with money to secure your vote. It is possible that a number of chiefs will intervene and make pressure on people to vote for this or that candidate, even adding threats to force people to choose their men.

In all this you must be very careful. Do not allow anyone to force you or to buy your vote. When voting each individual has a duty to exercise his freedom to choose the best candidate the one he considers more worthy and able to rule the country properly this time. Since you have decided on him, and since you will cast your vote in secret, no one should fear. How will anybody know that the candidate you vote for is not the one he had told you to choose?

The marks of a worthy Candidate

Decide for yourself as a Catholic who wants to understand how to choose a worthy candidate. Let me give you a series of marks or qualifications set by Pope Pius XII to indicate what makes a candidate worthy of your choice.

a) First see if the man of your choice has the fear of God. A ruler who does not fear God, who speaks evil of God and religion, is not worthy of being a ruler because he will take men away from

God and religion, thus putting the country into turmoil. A good ruler, on the contrary strives to keep order and peace in the country.

b) Always choose a man of high moral character, one who you can see will fight for what is right and will not give way to threats. Since religion is not confined to the home or the church but has its place everywhere, even in government, a worthy ruler will not be afraid to fight for it, because one who takes the trouble to represent the whole nation aims at its welfare.

c) Choose one who is not led by a spirit of dissatisfaction but who understands clearly what is right. Such a man will worthily lead the government as Prime Minister, he can make good policy and just laws for the fulfilment of that policy; if he himself abides by that policy and fulfils it, and does not deceive people by departing from what he has promised to do; then the country will be in peace.

d) Choose one who is unselfish. You may see some people who seek in government a new source of profit for their own well-being and who put that above everything else; such people are not trustworthy. A man who has never done anything of worth for his country, and then stands for election, has given you a clear sign of how he may be judged.

It is right to choose men who have been drawn from various fields and various walks of life: peasants, traders.

The reason why civil servants and government employees are not allowed to stand for election is that they are employed by government. That is their living; should they be elected they would perhaps merely seek to earn their “daily bread” as the saying goes.

e) Choose people who can consider everything objectively. A leader of the nation must be able to judge many circumstances objectively, especially in difficult times the nation needs outstanding leaders.

Uganda and Buganda are at present passing through a difficult period. The people are troubled in many ways, they can easily be excited into doing things they should not do, they can be deceived easily.

In a time of changes in government or when the country approaches its independence, the ideas of the people are not always normal. Feelings get excited, angry divisions arise among people; some have ideas of their own, others think otherwise.

In such times the leaders have the difficult task to calm those who fall into excess. If the leaders have not balanced ideas, if they are not unbiased, dedicated and unselfish, they cannot keep good order.

Therefore, choose people who struggle for truth and justice, people who will everywhere help Buganda and Uganda to unite and to stand together like brothers.

Things to avoid

To insult or calumniate one another, whether it is done by political parties or through slogans merely bring trouble. Therefore, you who are Catholics, whatever party you support, keep away from both these faults. On the other hand there may be some evil which has to be revealed so save

people from deceit. To keep silence about such evil could induce people to believe that crooked activities or false ideas preached by this party or that person are not so dangerous after all, that they are perhaps right because of the reason they put forward.

If you have to reveal such evil, just show what is wrong, avoiding any sort of insult, because when you point out an evil, people will see it at once without your resorting to insults.

What is more useful and more needed is that we all unite to avoid breaking into opposed factions and disavowing one another. The enemy we must fight more than any other is the one who incites us to establish unnecessary divisions among ourselves.

Opposition in government does not mean that the parties should fight or persecute one another because of their religion. What is needed is to secure a number of supporters, following the right channels.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude. I hope that those who will read this letter with an open heart will find in it a clearer view of the present political situation and will not be deluded by speeches of those who are merely preoccupied with securing votes; people who will try to influence weaker minds to choose any party or merely deceive and lead others into dishonest activities.

To this Pastoral letter I recommend that you add what has been written in a previous joint pastoral letter of the all the Bishops of Uganda (1952): “The Christian and His Country.” (*Omukrisu n’ensi yabowe*). Read that document again carefully.

In all your present difficulties and those which might befall you in the future, TRUST IN GOD, HAVE RECOURSE TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, THE MOTHER OF GOD AND QUEEN OF BUGANDA: THEY WILL NEVER FORSAKE YOU.

May the Virgin Mary continue at all times to show that She is really OUR MOTHER. “*Semper magis, Monstra te esse matrem*”.

+Joseph Kiwanuka
Archbishop of Rubaga

APPENDIX

Constitutional Monarch

Many Baganda might not understand for what reason Kabaka was taken out of politics to become a Constitutional Monarch.

I have already explained to you how the form of Government in Buganda went through changes until it allowed representatives to be elected by the people.

When a country with a king reaches the stage where its government is ruled by its people such a country may still want to keep its kings and for that reason it takes kings out politics.

When political parties are established in a country, if the king still mixes up in politics, the kingship is on the way to digging its own grave. We have the example of other countries to prove that and therefore Buganda showed clear-sightedness when she decided on Constitutional Monarchy.

Many countries have lost their king, even though the people loved him and took much pride in him. They lost him because he remained in politics after the country had accepted political parties opposing one another. These parties clashed with the king whom they saw blocking the way to their ends, and they overthrew them in such a way that they could never again find supporters. The reason is evident since the country stands on parties in opposition to one another and the king remains involved in politics he himself supporting one of the parties. When a king supports one party he shows himself as being no more the king of all his people, but only of that section of his people of which he says "These are my men who really care for me, and among whom I am hiding". Those whom he has chosen in such a way may flatter him as much as they can so that they may pass or reject whatever they want, even if they themselves know that what they are going to do is not right.

As for the people that the king has rejected, their hearts sink into rancour. They still struggle in the political field, and as in politics there are always changes in which there is much friction one day they might overthrow the party that the king has supported and then, as the hold power they will say to the king: "Go with the others, follow your friends". And then those who were supporting him since they have been overthrown, they merely look at what is happening, they can no more fight for him even should they wish to do so.

That is why I do not like these slogans of "Kabaka Yekka" (the Kabaka Alone) nor the party nor the activities, which they say is "to be behind the throne" or "to fight for the throne" or "support the Lukiiko". Among the parties already established there is not a single one that has done anything on which could be based the accusation "Now it is evident, that such party wants to destroy the Throne!" Even more, if the Government could prove such a thing, it would be deeply guilty not to take that party to the Court of Justice and file a suit against it.

Those "Kabaka Yekka" and others who flatter themselves that they are the defenders of the Throne and of the King, are the ones who will spoil our royalty by dragging the king in the back-wash of politics. In fact, they are just seeking their own end.

If it was accepted and approved by the Lukiiko that the people throughout the counties would elect the candidates who say "we are behind the Lukiiko, we are the defenders of the Kabaka, we fight

for the Throne”, it is possible that it would succeed. But this would be only temporary and would be most detrimental to the nation, because the opposition of the other candidates who do not support that party would turn against the Kabaka himself and the Lukiiko, who would belong to a different party.

Perhaps those who support one side will be angry with me because I brought them to light and exposed them, and because I gave the alarm to the Baganda who still have a sincere love for their country and for the Throne.

However, I hope that many who were blindfolded will be grateful to me and will be pleased to see that I have brought to light the snare hidden in the ground which was invisible to them; now if anyone wants to tread on it and is caught in it, everyone will be able to tell him: “After all, you trod on it while you saw it clearly”. Compete in parties which are known; but for such slogans as “Kabaka Alone”, “we are behind the Throne”, “we back the Lukiiko”, keep away from them.

+J. K.